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ABSTRACT

This document contains four essays which examine aspects of urban bilingual education as it applies to disadvantaged, minority children. The first essay, "A Legal-Historical View of Bilingual Education," deals with the struggle of the American people to cope with problems of language instruction in the schools. Briefly described are the effects specific court legislation had on the development of bilingual education programs for minority group children over a period of time. The second essay, "A View of Bilingual Education for Puerto Ricans in New York City, with a Suggested Model for Implementation," provides an overview of the cultural identity problems and low socioeconomic status of Puerto Ricans in New York and describes a model bilingual program that would help Puerto Ricans to cope with these problems. The third essay, "Concerns of Teacher-Pupil Interaction in a Bilingual Setting," investigates the concern of many educators for providing bilingual-bicultural instruction to Puerto Rican students and other Hispanics, and emphasizes the importance for teachers of these students to be properly informed of the students' background in order to facilitate learning. The final essay, "On Sociology of Urban Education," supports the point of view, through a sketch of immigration patterns, that inner-city schooling has permitted upward mobility among the disadvantaged. Appended are various statistical data concerning minorities and education in New York City.
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ESSAYS ON URBAN AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Jacqueline Córdova-Ferrer

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PREFACE

These essays, some previously mimeographed for students, represent the interests I have had for many years. They reveal what it has meant to me to be a student of the Curriculum field. The area of Bilingual Education is still in formation and my effort in making a contribution to this area of Urban Education could be reflected by the different times in which I wrote these papers.

The first essay, "A Legal-Historical View of Bilingual Education" was written to expound on the struggle of the American people to cope with problems of language instruction in the schools. This theme could generate further discussions, such as the concepts of americanization, assimilation, acculturation, and cultural pluralism.

The second essay, "A View of Bilingual Education for Puerto Ricans in New York City, With a Model for Implementation" was written in the Summer of 1974, just before the Aspira Consent Decree was signed in New York City. The curricular model introduced here did not circulate until later. I present it as an alternative route to the operation of bilingual programs. It is subject to criticism, which is much needed in the field of Bilingual Education.

The remaining articles in the book may clarify other central issues of Bilingual Education concerning cultural and political implications. The roots of a group of people are worth studying. The situation of the Puerto Rican people and their Bilingual Education was examined at some length in several articles. It is my hope that Bilingual Education may acquire a more concrete shape and systematic quality wherever needed within our urban schools.

Jacqueline Córdova-Ferrer

September, 1978

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I would like to thank those who in the past years have taken time to answer my questions and provided me with information. The list of professors, friends, acquaintances and colleagues who have helped to form my thoughts is too long to name. However, I take this opportunity to specially thank Professors A. Harry Passow, and Diane Ravitch for their many insights. I also want to express my gratitude to Dr. William Milan who has always offered his suggestions.

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"Individuals come to educational situations with their own temperaments, histories, and purposes, and different individuals will obviously interact with a given configuration of education in different ways and with different outcomes. Hence, in considering the interactions and the outcomes, it is as necessary to examine individual histories as it is to examine the configurations themselves."

(Lawrence A. Cremin, Public Education
Basic Books, 1976.)

I

A LEGAL-HISTORICAL VIEW OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The purpose of this analysis is to view Bilingual Education from a legal-historical perspective. From the days of the Pilgrim fathers, American leaders have ideologized morality, opportunity, progress and freedom. Ethnicity has been considered irrelevant. There was no apparent logical opposition between the ethnicity of nationalism of incoming immigrants and the ideology of America.[1] However, acceptance of the goals and values of America placed them on the road to accepting American life-styles, customs, and the English language. The tradition of struggling for linguistic and cultural self-maintenance is an old one on American shores -- even if not a particularly successful one.

During the period from 1830 to 1848, the German-Americans were devoted to the ideal of keeping their language alive. At this time a breakthrough was achieved in the field of elementary school education. German-English district schools came into being in Ohio. Cincinnati became the focus of this activity with uninterrupted bilingual instruction from 1840-1917. Nevertheless, owing chiefly to intense interaction with the English-speaking community and to harsh language policies beginning in 1917,[2] German is rapidly disappearing.

A lack of attention - indeed a repression from awareness - has characterized our reaction to the efforts of the American Indians and other minority cultural groups to maintain and develop their particular heritages as vibrant lifeways. Only recently has a change of heart and a change of mind become noticeable. It is an open question whether this change represents an instance of "better late than never" or an instance of "too little and too late."[3]

Regarding the Mexican-Americans in the United States it is a frequently overlooked fact that their presence is due to conquest and annexation. Thus, by virtue of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Mexicans residing in the Southwest became American citizens and were guaranteed equal protection and treatment under the American Constitution.[4] Factors such as institutionally sanctioned discrimination in the economic, political, social, and educational spheres of American life have undoubtedly added to the inability of Mexican Americans to participate in American society more fully.[5]

There is a recent influx of Cuban refugees, predominantly urban and middle class. Dade County, Florida, felt their impact and through HEW commenced some bilingual programs in the area.[6]

A LEGAL-HISTORICAL VIEW OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

For some recent newcomers[7], such as the Puerto Ricans, the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism arose as a consequence of a political reality. As a result of the Treaty of Paris between the United States and Spain, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States as a pawn of war. Spanish had been the only official language spoken in Puerto Rico for the past four hundred years.

In 1917, the Jones Act granted Puerto Ricans United States citizenship.[8] Puerto Rico is autonomous for some local affairs, and similar to other states, is subject to federal legislation. This political phenomenon has propelled Puerto Ricans into a significant, but uncertain role. Their efforts to clarify their identity is taking place within this troublesome context.

Why is bilingualism a problem to the Puerto Rican community? Do they speak Spanish, or English, or both? Should they learn in Spanish or English? Bilingualism is just one manifestation of the problem of acculturation and education.

A major development around the issue of bilingual education took place on a national scale when Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act in January 1968. The Act is, in essence, part of the amendments to the Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965. Under Title VII:

> "In recognition of the special education needs of the large number of children of limited English speaking ability in the United States, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet these special educational needs." [9]

On October 9, 1973, Bill S., 2553 was introduced in the Senate of the United States by Senators Kennedy, Cranston and Montoya. It was then referred to the committee on Labor and Public Welfare. This was to amend Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Besides encouraging the establishment and operation of educational programs using bilingual educational methods and techniques, the bill explains the terms of bilingual education in detail along with means of funds, teacher training and child development.

> The term "program of bilingual education" means a full time program of instruction of children of limited English speaking ability and for English speaking children who desire to participate in such programs in which --------
>
> (i) there is instruction given both in the native language of the child and in English, and given with appreciation for the cultural heritage of the child in all those courses or subjects of study which are required of the child in elementary, or secondary school, as the case may be, by pursuant to, the laws of the States:

(ii) both the native language of the child and English are studied, including speaking, reading and writing:

(iii) there is a study of the history and culture of the nation, territory or geographical area with which the child's native language is associated and of the history and culture of the United States.[10]

On January 21, 1974, the United States Supreme Court decided a case (Lau v. Nichols) which may have great significance for school children of limited English-speaking ability in most urban cities. The court decided that any school district receiving federal funds can no longer discriminate against students on the basis of national origins.[11] These schools must cope with the language problems of students who do not speak English. Minority group children such as Puerto Ricans are also included in this group.[12]

The Education Amendments of 1974 (Public Law 93-380), signed by President Ford, is an umbrella Act destined to affect tremendously the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of ESEA). As a result of the greater political awareness of the large Spanish speaking community in this country, and because of the extensions of the Lau decision in California, interest in the bilingual education concept has increased sharply, in both the Congress and the Executive branch.[13] Witness the fact that the President asked in his Fiscal Year 1975 budget submission for an approximate doubling of the funds provided under the existing program and Congress added to that.

Consequently, following the Lau decision, a consent decree was signed by Federal District Court Judge Marvin E. Frankel, which mandated Bilingual Education for all Hispanic children with English Language difficulties in the New York City schools.[14]

The decree results from a class action suit filed by attorneys for the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., in September, 1972 on behalf of Puerto Rican school children and their parents, Aspira of New York, Inc., and Aspira of America, Inc.

The consent decree mandates implementation of an accurate method of classifying Puerto Rican and other Hispanic school children who have English language difficulties and who are unable to learn in an all-English system. These children will be provided with courses to develop their English language ability. Courses in subjects such as math, history, science, etc., will be taught in Spanish. Continuing development of Spanish language skills for Hispanic students is also mandated.

The decree requires that material used in these programs positively reflect the culture of the Hispanic children involved. The decree also describes the qualifications required of staff for such programs.

The decree mandates that classification of children begin by October 1, 1974, and that pilot schools be set up by the second semester of the 1974-75 school year to carry out the Bilingual Program and to train personnel for full implementation of the Program by September, 1975. To this effect the New York Board of Education has been held in contempt of court, since programs have not been implemented in the manner set forth by the decree. (72 Civ. 4002; October 22, 1976; N.Y.).

Is Bilingual Education a right or a privilege? At first glance this question seems more germane as an educational issue rather than a legal one. However, the social implications of this type of instruction has warranted serious judicial considerations. Implicit within the study of languages is the transmission of culture. Within this framework the question then becomes, should an ethnic culture of any kind be taught? Does the teaching of a native culture other than the American culture constitute a threat to the security of the state?

For many years schools were viewed as an integral part of the Melting Pot process. Through this process it was believed that various ethnic groups could be transformed into a homogenous social group with a strong American identity. This identity was strongly linked with the establishment of English as the mother tongue.

In Meyer v. Nebraska (1922), the opinion of the court was that the teaching of a foreign language engendered ideas and sentiments in children that were foreign to the best interests of the state. [15] In a later ruling the Supreme Court rejected the opinion of the lower court, stating that:

> "The protection of the Constitution extends to all, -- to those who speak other languages as well as to those born with the English tongue."

Therefore, the court decided that the Fourteenth Amendment had been previously violated in the proscription of the teaching of a foreign language in the curriculum. [16]

The Supreme Court was careful to reaffirm the control of the state in the selection of appropriate curriculum in Nebraska District of Evangelical Luthern Synod of Missouri v. Samuel McKelvie, (1923). There it was ruled that the legislature does not have to provide the teaching of foreign languages in public schools. Furthermore, the state could not proscribe the teaching of a language other than English at any time in or out of a school, since to do so would be an unreasonable exercise of political power, and an unacceptable infringement on individual liberty. [17] It should be noted, however, the circumspection of the court in dealing with an issue that could lead it into unwarranted interference with domestic affairs. The state's power to decide curriculum still remains very much intact.

With a certain dreaded consistency, arguments against teaching any language other than English have been found to be in violation of the Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendment. Nevertheless, the same issue raises its furrowed brow anew in 1927 to include one more argument concerning the medium of instruction in a school.

Again, the consistent fear of transmission of an alien culture is the motivating force in Farrington, Governor of Hawaii v. Tokushige. The material facts for the case were that private schools taught the Japanese language to above average children without assistance from public funds. Nothing contrary to American history was taught at these schools. The court found the state's case without merit. Neither language "per se" or medium of instruction can be proscribed by the state.[18]

In failing to prove that language teaching other than English presents a clear and present danger either directly or indirectly, the state implied that the Melting Pot theory as a monolingual process in the school system could not be enforced through the Federal Courts. To the contrary, relief was sought under the Federal Constitution for the protection of a multilingual society which embraced multiple social inditities and values.

Despite the fact that the court did not specifically refer to a bilingual tradition, its existence is self-evident. In each case mentioned sundry ethnic groups were attempting to transmit their cultural heritage through the medium of language instruction.

On the other hand, the teaching of languages other than English, such as Latin or Greek, for example, in Newman and others v. Thompson and others presents an addition to the curriculum which was upheld by the court. The additional languages had no direct relationship to the cultural heritages of the pupils. It was simply a study deemed appropriate in a Kentucky school.[19]

In the State exrel Thayer v. School District, the court defined and education through the medium of the English language as an English Education. While the state cannot forbid language learning a time limitation can be imposed.[20]

In other words, children who receive part of their instruction in a language other than English are still defined as children receiving and English Education. It should be noted that this case was judged at the state level only.

During the seventies, several cases have been brought before the Supreme Court concerning bilingual and compensatory educational programs. In 1972 the question was placed before the court in Serna v. Portales Municipal School District as to whether the school district's failure to provide a program which took into account the specialized needs of Spanish-surnamed students was in violation of the equal

protection clause of the constitution and the Equal Rights Amendment. The decision was yes. Failure to take into account the specialized needs of students legally constituted a violation of constitutional rights.

What should be noted is that this case rested mainly on the defense's ability to clearly outline the existence of a class.* The material facts presented by the defense were that the Portales school system consisted of four schools. Each school offered the same educational program, despite the fact that one school was mainly populated with Spanish-surnamed pupils. As a class these pupils performed poorly on the I.Q. tests.

Once the issue of the existence of a class was strongly made then the question became, what is equal opportunity in education? In the opinion of the court the similarity of school programs does not constitute equality as long as one class of students are demonstrably affected as evidenced by the low I.Q. scores of the Spanish-surnamed pupils in comparison to three other schools.[21]

The mandate for curriculum development is that it must be designed to meet the learning needs of particular populations in order to assure equal opportunity. In this case, the solution preferred by the defense and accepted by the court was that of Bilingual-Bicultural Education. However, at the same time the court was careful not to mandate a particular educational solution in addressing itself to the problem of inequality.

This point is further illustrated in Keyes v. School District No. 1 which was basically a discrimination case. The court plainly stated that it was cognizant of the low scholastic achievement prevalent in the "core area" school but emphasized the problem was not due to the single factor of segregation. Instead, it was the opinion of the Court that:

> "...even a completely integrated setting does not resolve these problems if the schooling is not directed to the specialized needs of children coming from low socio-economic and minority-racial and ethnic backgrounds. Thus, it is not the proffered objective indicia of inferiority which causes the substandard academic performance of these children, but a curriculum which is allegedly not tailored to their educational and social needs."[22]

Thus, the conclusion stands that it would be an obvious deprivation of equal protection for a school district to effectuate a curriculum which is not constructed to meet the needs of minority students.

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*Class action refers to a lawsuit brought about on behalf of all persons similarly situated as to complaint and remedy sought.

A LEGAL-HISTORICAL VIEW OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

In Lau v. Nichols, the Supreme Court again pointed to a curriculum which failed to provide English language instruction as being in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The failure to provide English language instruction to non-English speakers denied these students the right to participate in a meaningful way in the public education program.

Through these recent cases it can be seen that equality in education has been defined as providing a curriculum to a population which will enhance that population's growth and participation within the greater American society.[23]

Bilingual Education can serve as a remedy of inequality. There is much evidence to indicate that language is more than communication. To deny this type of education is to substantially disadvantage large classes of citizens, and hamper them from participation within the state.

Education can not be conceived as a static entity but rather one which is in constant flux. Essentially it is a process which serves to meet the demands of a changing society. As John Dewey once noted, society is a group of people who perceive themselves as joined together by common goals and a shared identity. These common needs and aims necessitate an ongoing interchange of thought and an ongoing unity of sympathetic feeling.[24] If education persists in a static definition of its functions, without recognizing changing social values, then the present school is preparing future members of the social order in a medium in which the conditions for a shared social identity are seriously lacking. Thus, it becomes an essential task for education to prepare people to live in a vastly expanded world with interdependent heterogeneous cultures.

The school, in other words, needs to engender a cosmopolitan sensitivity. It should counteract the inevitable parochialism of the socialization patterns which locks particular groups within their own racial background, religious beliefs, sanctions, code of morals, and standards of right and wrong. The nurturing of a cosmopolitan sensitivity requires an ability to view one's own culture and that of others in an objective manner.

Thus, it would seem apparent that the implication for the school is to build a curriculum which allows for people to see themselves as sharing a common human identity. Certainly then in this context, knowledge must be offered in a manner which will provide students with an insight into a particular culture. What is needed is not only new curriculum patterns and materials, but new inventions in the methods of teaching and learning, new ways of combining information and insight.

A LEGAL-HISTORICAL VIEW OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Any attempt to introduce change into the school, according to Seymour B. Sarason, involves some existing regularity, behavioral or programmatic. [25] Current thinking on bilingual education is far from uniform. There are different points of view and many questions being raised in respect to bilingual education. Some have asked if bilingualism is desirable for the nation or for the individual child; is it worth the trouble and the expense? [26]

Some educators who doubted the wisdom of teaching children in their native language modified their attitude after the publication of the Coleman Report. This finding made the positive self-concept a crucial attribute of the successful student in a culturally disadvantaged school. Bilingual Education is now envisaged by an increasing number of administrators as one aspect of programmatic endeavors to increase the self-respect of these particular children.

The Public School system is accountable to its citizens for the inversion of the tax dollar. As R. Freeman Butts puts it:

> "It would be essential to build a system of schools that would not only be public in purpose but also public in control, public in support, and public in access." [27]

This was done in order to enable all persons in a population to acquire the requisite knowledge and disposition essential for the social cohesion of a democratic republic. According to Butts:

> "...the public schools can assist the disparate, dispirited, and divided peoples of the United States to achieve a sense of community and common civic purpose." [28]

However, the extent to which parents may demand certain curricula for their children is intimately bound up with the amount of control they obtain over their local schools in the entire decentralization-community control controversy.

Culture comprises all the objects, actions, and feelings that surround and affect an individual. The language of a society is not merely an instrument of communication but a vehicle which carries the traditions, the philosophical essence, and the historical elements of that society. [29]

Bilingualism is not just an idea in education. Its acceptance marks a change in outlook in America, a change away from the rigid belief that all cultures should go into one melting pot, and a change towards appreciation of pluralism and pride in ethnic origins.

A LEGAL-HISTORICAL VIEW OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION - FOOTNOTES

1. Theodore Anderson and Mildred Boyer, Bilingual Schooling in the United States, (Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Texas, 1970), p. 84.

2. The Center Forum, Center for Urban Education, Vol. 4, No. 1, New York, September, 1969.

3. Anderson and Boyer, Bilingual Schooling in the United States, op. cit., p. 120.

4. Manuel Ramirez III and Alfredo Castañeda, Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development and Education, (New York: Academic Press, 1974), p. 2.

5. Ibid., p. 3.

6. Anderson and Boyer, Bilingual Schooling in the United States, op. cit., p. 120.

7. Notice that the word migrants is not used in this case.

8. Jose L. Vivas, Historia de Puerto Rico, (New York: Las Americas Publishing Company, 1960), p. 196.

9. "Title VII" - "Bilingual Education Programs", Sec. 702, p. 34, in Public Law, 90-247, 90th Congress, H.R., 7819, January 2, 1968.

10. "Bilingual Educational Programs", a bill of the 93rd Congress, S.2553, October 9, 1973.

11. "Lau v.Nichols" No. 72-6520 as reported in United States Law Week: LW4268, January 22, 1974.

12. As reported in News Release of the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People, Office of Public Affairs and Information, Washington, D.C., January 23, 1974.

13. As reported in newsletter of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. N.Y., March 21, 1974.

14. Albert L. Alfrod, "The Education Amendments of 1974", American Education, January-Febuary 1975, p. 7.
See also PL 93-380, Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.
As reported in News Release by Aspira of New York, August 29, 1974; Aspira v. Board of Education of New York, 58 F.R.D. 62 (S.D. N.Y. 1973).

15. Meyer v. State, 107 Neb. 657 (1922).

16. Meyer v. State, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).

A LEGAL-HISTORICAL VIEW OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION - FOOTNOTES

17. Nebraska District of Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri v. Samuel McKelvie, 262 U.S. 404 (1923).

18. Farrington v. Tokushige, 273 U.S. 284 (1927).

19. Newman and others v. Thompson and others, 9 Ky. L. Rep. 199 4SW 341 (1887).

20. State exrel Thayer v. School District, 99 Neb. 338 156 N.W. 641 (1916).

21. Serna v. Portales, 351 F. Supp. 1279 (1972).

22. Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado, 413 U.S. 189, (1973).

23. Lau v. Nichols, (483 F. 2d. 791) (9th Cir., 1973) rev'd. U.S. 1974; 42 U.S. L.W. 4165 (January 22, 1974) U.S.

24. John Dewey, The School and Society, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1900) pp. 27-28.

25. Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, (Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Boston, 1971) p. 3.

26. Theodore Anderson and Mildred Boyer, Bilingual Schooling in the United States, (Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas, January 1970), p. 41.

27. R. Freeman Butts, "The Public Purpose of the Public School", Teachers College REcord, Vol. 75, No. 2, December 1973, p. 208.

28. Ibid., p. 220.

29. See report "Teaching Spanish to the Native Spanish Speaker" prepared by a group of teachers of New York City Public Schools headed by Hernan La Fontaine, 1973, for the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Inc.

II

A VIEW OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY, WITH A SUGGESTED MODEL FOR IMPLEMENTATION

As a result of the Treaty of Paris between the United States and Spain, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States as a pawn of war. Spanish had been the only official language spoken in Puerto Rico for the past four-hundred years. The problem of bilingualism and biculturalism arose as a consequence of this political reality.

In 1917, The Jones Act granted Puerto Ricans the United States citizenship.[1] After innumerable efforts, Congress enacted Public Law 600 authorizing the island's people to draw up their own Constitution, subject to the approval of the Congress of the United States. The Constitution was drawn up, amended in some particulars by Congress, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico came into existence.

Under the new political status, established in 1952, the island is semi-autonomous in local affairs, but associated with the United States. Its people continue to be citizens of the United States and, similar to citizens of other states, are subject to federal legislation, such as grants-in-aid and conscription. Free trade with the United States remains in effect.

In the meantime Puerto Ricans have been struggling for the past generation on the peculiar problem of identity.

> There suddenly appeared an interesting convergence of United States citizenship (which enables them to move freely to the mainland), a new political status (they are neither independent nor a state, but a Free Associated State), rapid economic development* (of which Puerto Rico is the most impressive example in the world), and changing religious conditions (they have been strongly influenced by American Catholicism at a time when all of North America suddenly awakened to the importance of Catholicism).[2]

These and other experiences have propelled the Puerto Ricans into a significant but uncertain role in the rapid development of society today. What and who the Puerto Ricans are must be related to all of this because their efforts to clarify their identity for themselves are taking place in this troublesome context.

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* In recent years, after the recession, economic development in Puerto Rico has slowed down considerably.

When people from this kind of background enter an open class society with upward mobility, the lack of a defined status is troublesome. It is one of the most difficult aspects of the uprooting, and it is directly related to the problem of identity.

The conflict between cultural identity and the search for economic survival has been the crux of Puerto Rico's political status dilemma. In certain ways the Puerto Rican migration to the United States is analogous to the one of the European population a century ago. Puerto Ricans have also left their island in search of jobs and better opportunities. However, the irony of the situation is that the Puerto Rican has a U.S. citizenship and an accessibility to Puerto Rico ---just three hours away---where life has cultural dimensions that are much different from those of the mainland.

The majority of the Puerto Rican "economic exiles" [3] are comprised by the rural or urban poor. Life in the city is their first contact with a social system that places them at the bottom of the economic ladder.[4] They soon discover they have left their island for an alien environment. Being in economic transition they still long to return to the island. Previously they have been poor, but they had a sense of belonging.

Therefore, a Puerto Rican in the mainland finds it hard to "adapt" and may be apprehensive about involving himself in a society that he still has not considered his own. All of these conflicts threaten his social and cultural life patterns, and become the anomie or his state of apathy in modern society today. The problem also runs into the important area of education, and this is the central theme of this analysis.

At the present moment there are over a million Puerto Ricans living in the New York Metropolitan Area, and more than 500,000 elsewhere in the United States. It is the purpose of this analysis to concentrate on the variables that pertain to New York Puerto Ricans.

Because Puerto Ricans are at the bottom of the economic ladder, and because their low levels of education have not been markedly improved, Puerto Ricans are commonly employed at low paying jobs. Oftentimes they turn to welfare. It shames many families to go through this life process. Therefore some, out of frustration, succumb to drinking, sexual escapades, drugs and despair.

More serious than all these problems in the alienation of Puerto Rican families, is the problem of language. Why is bilingualism a problem to the Puerto Rican community? Do they speak Spanish or English or both? Should they learn in Spanish or English? Bilingualism is only one manifestation of the great problem of acculturation and education.

A MODEL FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY

There is a need for improvement in Bilingual Education for all hispanics. But may I reaffirm, the purpose of this analysis is to deal with some variables pertaining to New York Puerto Ricans. Socio-economic problems are complex and varied for the Puerto Ricans. Though Puerto Ricans are American citizens from birth, they still fight anomie and ambiguity of socio-economic goals. However, it may be apropos to say that what would be proposed here as a solution to Bilingual Education, may be a solution to many groups of Americans and Hispanics alike.

My position is that Puerto Rican students are not being reached in the urban schools. The approach has been unrealistic to some extent. The Puerto Rican child has the lowest levels of achievement in reading and mathematics, and has the highest rate of High School dropouts.[5] He could walk into a classroom as a non English speaking pupil. This may be the beginning of his frustrations, when he finds it difficult to communicate with his teacher or his peers. Hence, the need to improve his self-respect, identity and self-confidence through a Bilingual Education Program that relates more realistically to his situation.

Beyond this, we must also consider the second-generation Puerto Rican child who does not know about his cultural heritage, and yet still feels Puerto Rican. Bilingual Education may also help to solve this ambiguity.

> It has become increasingly clear that a major reason for the failure of the schools rests in cultural differences: the school system presupposes a cultural style and preparation which are different from those which characterize the Puerto Ricans. It is implied that the schools need to adjust the system of learning to the cultural characteristics of Puerto Rican children.[6]

Furthermore, an increasing awareness of the values of bilingualism, in any tongue, and in any situation, has led to a greater concern for helping a child to retain the language of his parents.

The question is no longer how to teach English and impose it as rapidly as possible, but rather how to teach English as a Second Language, or how best to bring a child to a mastery of both languages. Never before has the city been caught in the tension between a determination to teach English, and a desire to preserve Spanish.

The public school system is accountable to its citizens for the inversion of the tax dollar. As R. Freeman Butts puts it: "It was essential to build a system of schools that would not only be public in purpose but also public in control, public in support, and public in access".[7] This was done in order to enable all persons in population to acquire the requisite knowledge and disposition essential for the social cohesion of a democratic republic. According to Butts, "the public schools can assist the disparate, dispirited, and divided peoples of the United States to achieve a sense of community and common civic purpose".[8] However, the extent to which Puerto Ricans may demand certain curricula

for their children is intimately bound up with the amount of control they obtain over their local schools in the entire decentralization-community control controversy.

Joshua Fishman and Joseph Fitzpatrick suggest that language could also provide the issue around which to rally a show of strength. If the Puerto Ricans are to overcome the disadvantage which they suffer, especially in education, they must become a political voice, an interest group pressuring for their own rights and interests.[9] Puerto Rican organizations in general have not been particularly aggressive or effective on the legislative front.* Political interaction is the only way to meet the challenges of today's urban educational experience.

Any attempt to introduce change into school, according to Seymour B. Sarason, involves some existing regularity, behavioral or programmatic.[10] Current thinking about bilingual education is extremely diverse. There are different points of view and many questions being raised in respect to bilingual education. Some have asked if bilingualism is desirable for the nation or for the individual child; is it worth the trouble and expense?[11]

It would be wise to begin by acknowledging the need for change and improvement in the education of our non-English speaking children. It has been mentioned that Puerto Ricans are at the bottom of the economic ladder with not enough being done to raise their low levels of education; that Puerto Ricans are born American citizens going through socio-educational processes; and that Puerto Ricans are in search of an identity. It may also be considered, as Cándido de León puts it, that the Jones Act of 1917 did not specify knowledge of English as a requisite for citizenship.[12]

Furthermore, we have seen that language has become a divisive factor in the education of Puerto Ricans in our public schools. It is possible to identify five segments in the Puerto Rican population:

1. Persons---of Puerto Rican parentage but born on the mainland---who now only speak English;
2. Persons---of Puerto Rican parentage but born on the mainland---who, because of poor schooling speak poor English and poor Spanish;
3. Persons---of Puerto Rican parentage but born on the mainland---who are bilingual, i.e., they can function comfortably in social and business situations in either language;
4. Persons---born in Puerto Rico---who are functional in Spanish but know little or no English;
5. Islandborn persons who are bilingual.[13]

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*In the past four years, after the Aspira Decree, organizations have picked up substantial momentum.

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It is a recognized duty of the schools to prepare each student to function to the best of his potential. Discrediting his culture or demography has not helped the Puerto Rican. And as Sarason puts it: "In our urban centers particularly, there are different kinds of schools, each of which is an entity with distinctive characteristics and yet bearing the stamp of the larger system of which it is a part"[14] Changes must be introduced into the schools while taking into account their structural and cultural characteristics.[15]

Some writers emphasize the use of languages, e.g. Weinreich (1953), who defined bilingualism as "the practice of alternately using two languages" (similarly Mackey, 1962, and Brooks, 1969)[16] The most widely accepted approach of bilingual education is instruction in two languages and the use of those languages as mediums of instruction for any part, or all, of the school curriculum. Study of the history and culture associated with a student's mother tongue is considered an integral part of bilingual education.[17] However, the ways by which this definition has been implemented are varied and divergent.

In regards to the Puerto Rican bilingual education situation, many approaches have been innovated in the past. I have personally seen the failure of many such programs. I believe that the consideration of the stratification of the Puerto Rican population is of extreme importance in determining successful programs on bilingual education. The school culture and its socio-economic-educational characteristics are significant.

Among many models, William Mackey recommends the Dual Medium Equal Maintenance (DEM) for bilingual schools[18] This system is characterized by equal treatment of two languages. The focus is to give equal chance to both languages in all domains, in order to create balanced bilinguals. With due respect to Professor Mackey, it is my opinion, noticing the diversified segments of the Puerto Rican population, that this theory may in some cases be impractical.

English as a Second Language (ESL) programs have also been developed under different perspectives. But unless the home language and culture is used as a medium of teaching, I believe that this type of education cannot be called bilingual. It is important that this be recognized because most people tend to think that learning a new language means merely acquiring new words and their meanings. However, it goes far beyond this, "If language acquisition is not coupled with learning about the culture in the words, then no real language learning has taken place"[19]

Other models of bilingual instructional programs have been developed. Public School 25 in New York City implemented their bilingual program through the use of two languages.[20] Although this was a successful program, it has not lead to proliferation of similar schools.

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The transitional model suggested by the Texas Educational Agency,[21] described by Mackey as the Transfer (T) type has the following characteristics:

1. The first language of the child is used as a means of instruction in developing the basic skills of reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic.
2. English is introduced as a second language; as the child becomes more proficient in understanding and speaking the second language, the use of the first language as a means of instruction should be decreased, while the use of English for this purpose is increased.
3. The use of both languages as a medium of instruction is continued for a minimum of three years and thereafter until such time as the child is able to comprehend and communicate effectively in English.
4. To assure the development of a literate bilingual, the child is given the opportuntiy for continued study of the four basic skills of his first language (understanding, speaking, reading, and writing).

I will now attempt to present a possible solution to the problem of the bilingual education of Puerto Ricans in our urban schools. The solution that I would propose is similar to the Transitional Model expounded above, but dissimilar in as much as the variables (socio-economic, demographic, cultural and educational) explained throughout this analysis have not been included in their model.

I would hesitate to view bilingual education only as a transition to English. Most present programs of bilingual education are not organized with these socio-linguistic and demographic variables in mind. The fragmentation of the Puerto Rican population into five different categories is a factor of utter importance in the implementation of bilingual programs. Whether students are dominant in English or Spanish; whether they are newcomers of urban or rural background---these are variables to be weighed so as to ensure the success of bilingual programs. Vera P. John and Vivian M. Horner, while recognizing the importance of such research, have stated that these socio-linguistic and demographic variables do not play a significant role in the current planning aspects of the education of non-English speaking children.[22] It is my contention that these variables are extremely significant because they support the goals of bilingual education programs; i.e., not only to improve basic skills of the students (linguistic and otherwise), but to improve their self-respect, self confidence and their concept of identity; and to develop patterns of shared responsibility and decision making;[23] and to enhance their appreciation and assimilation of culture.

By establishing bilingual programs of this type we can assure students of growth and knowledge which is not only cognitive but also affective. The improvement of social interaction and the development of a positive self concept are directly related to the progress the child could make in the skills of mathematics, and those of reading, writing, listening and speaking both the English and Spanish languages.

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Care must be taken to ensure the quality of design and implementation of the bilingual innovation.[24] Certainly, bilingual programs imply the existence of cultural diversity, but this fact does not necessarily mean to lump all various children into a general bilingual program.

Sarason says that some of the most interesting and important aspects of the process of change are revealed before the point of implementation.[25] To create an awareness of change, to maintain a time perspective, and to have an understanding of the school culture, are essential factors in order a make realistic change. Other aspects of pre-planning, goals and implementation of a bilingual program will be discussed along with the description of the suggested model.

I would now like to suggest a model of a possible bilingual program with the following characteristics:

1. Language dominance is a decisive factor in order to group participating students in a bilingual program. Other characteristics or variables such as whether or not they are of urban or rural background would fall into place under the predominant factor of language dominance. That is, a student who has lived in the mainland for most of his pre-school years is conditioned to his urban environment, and will be a part of the "English as a primary language" group. Students who are new arrivals either of Puerto Rico's urban or rural background will form part of the "Spanish as a primary language" group. Children of rural or urban Puerto Rico will be properly grouped in their bilingual set-up, so as to provide effective educational motivation.
2. The primary language of the child is used as a means of instruction in developing the basic skills of reading, understanding, speaking, spelling, writing, arithmetic, and appreciation of culture.
   A. If the child is a newcomer:
      1. English is introduced as a second language.
      2. New culture is introduced.
      3. Spanish is used for most subjects.
      4. As the child becomes more proficient in English, this language is included as medium of instruction.
      5. The use of both languages is continued for the rest of program along with appreciation of two cultures.
   B. If the child is born in the mainland:
      1. Spanish is introduced as a second language.
      2. Puerto Rican culture is introduced.
      3. English is used for most subjects.
      4. As the child becomes more proficient in Spanish, this language is included as a medium of instruction.
      5. The use of both languages is continued for the rest of the program along with appreciation of the two cultures.

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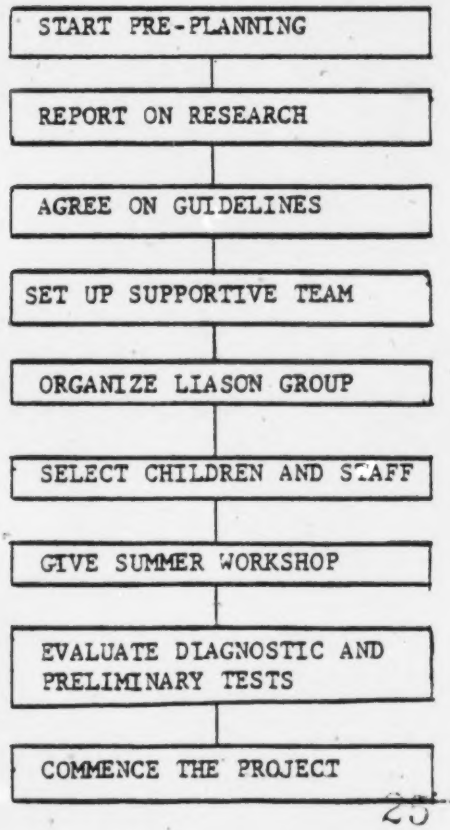
Some educators who doubted the wisdom of teaching children in their native language modified their attitude after the publication of the Coleman Report. This finding made the positive self-concept a crucial attribute of the successful student in a culturally disadvantaged school. Bilingual education is now envisaged by an increasing number of administrators as one aspect of programmatic endeavors to increase the self-respect of these particular children.

The participation of parents is a crucial aspect of bilingual education. Although many bilingual educators support this view, they fail to implement it. When programs are planned in isolation from the the community, parents' contributions become merely incidental. Parental participation could provide support for the continuity of such programs.

I have resorted to the approach of systems analysis in analyzing the actual problem discussed here.[26] The use of a flow chart is also a process used in system analysis, which facilitates an organized attack on a project by breaking up and charting the events which must be completed in order for the project to go into effect. Ideally, systems analysis helps the school administrator or coordinator to identify the nature and scope of the problems, to evaluate goals and arrange them in priority, to search for alternate solutions, and finally to select the best alternative.[27]

If we were to visualize in practice the model of a bilingual program as I have suggested, we would have to examine the pre-planning phase and its implementation phase. An outline and description of the pre-planning phase follows:



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DESCRIPTION OF PRE-PLANNING STAGE

1. Go to school site and prepare to meet with the community and the staff. Answer whatever questions they have. Awareness for change and positive outlook is important.
2. Consultants will be employed to do research containing data of the city, district, school, children, population, achievement scores, socio-economic background of parents, poverty levels, labor force backgrounds, and test measurements. They will also assist in the preparation of curriculum and materials. A nearby University may also take part in the program.
3. Set up guidelines for the operation of the plan. Develop philosophy, goals and organizational charts.
4. Design a supportive team to counterattack the problems raised later. In other words, try to take care of "anticipated consequences".[29] The functions of the team will be to:
   a) Increase remedial assistance.
   b) Establish close contact with disadvantaged homes.
   c) Provide social work or psychological services.
   d) Provide new resource materials for teachers.
5. Organize a liason group representing all sides. This group will attempt to keep the community informed and stimulated, as well as offering additional insights for the success of the program. The people integrating this group may be of the school, local community, the local board and the nearby University or sponsor.
6. The selection of students is based on the collected data presented by the consultants. The following variables would be considered so as to classify students properly, the students' primary language, whether or not they are recent arrivals, and whether they are of urban or rural background. They must be aware of the problem, understand the language and the culture of the students. They will provide moral support, so necessary to the final outcome of the pilot project.
7. A summer workshop of four weeks will be set up in preparation of the implementation of the program. Thereby teachers may ask necessary questions, study collected data, and familiarize themselves with the children's background.
8. Preliminary tests will be given at the beginning of the program. Other tests will be given during the course of the pilot project. These tests will measure mental and verbal abilities; skills in reading (speech, comprehension, writing) and Mathematics; anxiety, self esteem, acceptance and other attitudes. After all these tests are analyzed and evaluated, then the program will be ready for its start.

To be more specific, and perhaps more practical, let us suppose this program of bilingual education will be soon implemented in a school in an urban area. Most families are "economic migrants" of low income brackets; eighty-five per cent are Puerto Ricans.

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The model school would include a sub-model where the bilingaul program would be implemented. The sub-school will be composed of 200 students from K-3 levels. There would be eight teachers and four para-professionals, preferably bilingual, already oriented in bilingual education and the purposes and goals of the pilot project program. There will be two kindergarten classes, two first grades, two second grades and two third grades. The students will be classified in two groups according to langauge dominance (English or Spanish).[29] There will be a coordinator fully supported by the principal in charge of the bilingual program and independent thereof.

The pilot project will have a duration of four years for the beginning stage of its implementation. Twice a year consultants will evaluate the program and reevaluate philosophy and goals.

The proposed bilingual program will have the following short range and long range goals:[30]

Short Range Goals:

1. Improve students' self-respect, identity and self-confidence.
2. Improve basic skills of the students.
3. To develop patterns of shared responsibility and decision making.
4. To appreciate one's culture and the fact of being bilingual.

Long Range Goals:

1. Improve skills in reading, writing, listening and speaking of the English language; to improve the speaking of the Spanish language; to improve mathematical ability or conceptual abilities.
2. To improve social interaction and develop a positive self-concept.

The bilingual education program proposed here would be implemented in the following manner: (See accompanying chart describing different levels of the program ; on page 21.) :

1. After diagnosis tests have been given, divide two hundred students in two groups, according to language dominance.
   a. Those students with ability to speak English, whose primary language is English, but who desire to learn Spanish and the Puerto Rican culture.
   b. Those students with ability to speak Spanish, whose primary language is Spanish, who desire to learn more about Puerto Rican culture.
2. Classify as best as by maintaining-age groups in balance: perhaps in a non-graded environment.
3. Diagnose specific needs within classrooms.
4. Keep in mind four levels:
   a. Diagnosis level.
   b. Developmental level.
   c. Intermediate or transitional level.
   d. Bilingual level.

5. Evaluate performance (students, teachers, coordinators).
6. Restructure weak points.

Diagnostic Level	Focus on basic conversation skills in English or Spanish according to the classification as to their primary language.
Developmental Level	Stress is upon listening and reading skills, with the students attempting one content course in his or her primary language, be it Spanish or English.
Intermediate Level	Pursue half their courses in the alternate language. Instruction shifts towards reading and composition skills in their secondary language.
Bilingual Level	Students achieve prescribed competency in speaking, understanding, reading and writing of the second language. They eventually can do this in both languages.

After explaining a possible model of a bilingual program for New York City, I may conclude that in a city such as this one, with an overwhelming Spanish-speaking population, such an experimental program may be beneficial to the entire community. Spanish as a second language and English are necessary for delivery of professional services in many areas such as law, medicine, dentistry, social work, and teaching.

I believe that we must unite all resources to provide better educational instruction to Puerto Rican youngsters in New York City. Even though some ground has been gained there is more to be accomplished. It should be a community effort to help both administrators and teachers in the public schools to obtain a realistic perspective of the Puerto Rican situation.

Other specific areas of work could be defined as:

1. More effective guidance to Puerto Rican students.
2. Orientation to parents.
3. Re-evaluation of school philosophy and goals.
4. To have appropriate staff for bilingual programs in the city.
5. To provide in-service training to all teachers involved with the Puerto Ricans.
6. To develop and implement programmed instruction with a bilingual orientation in Languages Arts and Mathematical skills.

Educational innovation in the category of bilingual programs will be of some significance when we recognize that education is part of a social process which presupposes an understanding of the school culture. If the school remains alien to the values and needs of the community,[31] then the children will not receive the education they are entitled to, no matter what language they are taught in.

Undoubtedly, any program that is innovated must go through a comprehensive evaluative study to determine its success. The model

program I have suggested was originated as a consequence of my own experience in the field. There can be no guarantee of its success nor implementation. It has been an attempt to tackle down the problem of bilingual education. Feedback is necessary in the development of an even more relevant and workable model.

FOUR STAGE LEVELS DIAGNOSTIC	100 English Dominance	100 Spanish Dominance
DEVELOPMENTAL	K 1	K 1
INTERMEDIATE OR TRANSITIONAL	2	2
BILINGUAL	3...	3...

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FOOTNOTES

1. José Luis Vivas, Historia de Puerto Rico, (New York: Las Américas Publishing Company, 1960) p. 196.

2. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, The Puerto Rican Americans, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 6.

3. Joseph Monserrat, "Puerto Rico y la Migración Puertorriqueña". A Commencement exercise speech given in 1971 at the Inter-American University of Puerto Rico, p. 8.
4. See appendix.
   Also see: "The Puerto Rican Community of New York: A statistical Profile". A 1964 report prepared by the Puerto Rican Development Project and the Puerto Rican Forum in Puerto Rican Children in Mainland Schools, (ed. by Francesco Cordasco and Eugene Bucchioni, Scarecrow Press, Inc., Metuchen, New Jersey, 1968).
5. See appendix for tables indicating low achievement levels of Puerto Rican children in the city of New York.
6. J.P. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. 139.

7. R. Freeman Butts, The Public Purpose of the Public School, Teachers College Record, Vol. 75, No. 2, December 1973, p. 208.
8. Ibid., p. 220.
9. Joshua Fishman, 'Puerto Rican Intellectuals in New York: Quantitative Analysis of Twenty Bilingual Interviews' in Bilingualism in the Barrio.
10. Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, (Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Boston, 1971), p. 3.
11. Theodore Anderson and Mildred Boyer, Bilingual Schooling in the United States, (Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas, January 1970) p. 41.
12. Cándido de León: A proposal for Bilingual/Bicultural Education at Hostos Community College (handout).
13. Ibid., pp. 3,4.
14. S.B. Sarason, op. cit., p. 1.
15. Ibid., p. 19.
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17. Ibid., p. 12.
18. John P.Vera and Vivian M. Horner, "Early Childhood Bilingual Education" in The Puerto Rican Experience, ed. by Francesco Cordasco and Eugene Bucchioni, p. 313.
    Also see:
    William F. Mackey, Bilingual Education in a Binational School, (Rowley, Mass., Newbury House Publishers, 1972) p. 42.
19. Benjamín Pacheco, "A Positive View of Bilingualism" in Puerto Rican Perspectives, ed. by Edward Mapp, (Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N.J., 1974), p. 12.
20. Hernan La Fontaine, "Bilingual Education" in The Puerto Rican Experience, ed. by Francesco Cordasco and Eugene Bucchioni, (New Jersey, Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1973), p. 339.
21. "Principle and Standards for Accrediting Elementary and Secondary Schools" (Texas Educational Agency, Austin, Texas, Spring 1967), in The Puerto Rican Experience, ed. by F. Cordasco and E. Bucchioni, p. 311.
22. Ibid., p. 307.
23. Roland Barth, in handout, "Open Education and the American School".
24. "Individual Role in Educational Change and a Framework for its Analysis, with Particular Reference to the Establishment of a Bilingual Sub-School in an Urban System", dissertation by Micheal D. McColgun, (submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in Teachers College, Columbia University, 1972).

25. S.B. Sarason, op. cit., p. 220.
26. Fred Carver and Thomas Sergiovanni, The New School Executive, (New York : Dodd, Mead and Company, 1973), pp. 228-229).
27. Ibid.
28. As mentioned in class TY 4101 by Prof. Ann Lieberman, Summer, 1974, Teachers College, Columbia University.
29. See Page 22.
30. Some of these ideas were extracted from Roland Barth's article "Open Education and the American School".
31. Jacqueline Córdova, "Community Association Upgrades New York City Neighborhood," National Civic Review, January, 1975.

III

CONCERNS OF TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTION IN A BILINGUAL SETTING

This essay investigates the concern of many educators of providing bilingual-bicultural instruction to Puerto Rican students and other Hispanics. The lack of specially-trained teachers prepared to work specifically with Puerto Rican students is a major factor affecting the quality of the educational program offered to Puerto Rican students. Teachers who lack professional skills in the areas such as remedial reading for Puerto Rican students, conversational Spanish, the teaching of English as a foreign language, and guidance of Puerto Rican students, as well as the general lack of knowledge of Puerto Rican culture and of the Puerto Rican experience on the mainland may be contributing to unsuccessful school achievement common among Puerto Rican students.[1]

Throughout this analysis it will be shown how important it may be for the teacher of Puerto Rican students and Hispanics alike to be properly informed of the pupil's background in order to facilitate learning in the classroom. A teacher who is culturally identified with the child most likely will have a positive effect on his learning. A series of studies will be examined indicating elements of concern in this particular teacher-pupil interaction setting.

The director of a bilingual education project frequently is faced with a frustrating search for teachers with pedagogical experience, the linguistic and cultural knowledge of a native-speaker, as well as the credentials needed for state certification. In writing job specifications directors must spell out a priority of qualifications and hold fast to them. The importance given to language ability, cultural awareness and teaching experience cannot be overstressed.[2]

It is necessary to change and improve the education of our non-English speaking children. Puerto Ricans remain at the bottom of the economic ladder, while there is not enough being done to raise the low levels of their education. Puerto Ricans are in search of an identity. They are born American citizens going through changing socio-educational processes. It is also worthwhile to consider that the Jones Act of 1917 did not specify knowledge of English as a requisite for citizenship.

Public education in the United States, a noble idea with admirable goals, has failed to provide Puerto Rican students with the kind of education needed to help reach their full potential. Among the Puerto Rican student population you find, 1) Retardation of more than two years

in reading and mathematics; 2) Inadequacy in oral English at graduation; 3) Large numbers of Puerto Rican youngsters in General Courses in high schools; 4) Exceedingly high rate of dropouts; 5) A generally negative self-concept; 6) Non-marketable skills amongst most Puerto Rican youngsters when they leave schools. Other experts would also add to this list the destructive effects that the schools have had on our culture, language and system of values and the disproportionately small number of Puerto Rican students who go on to higher institutions of learning.

But bilingualism is not just an idea in education. Its acceptance marks a change in outlook in America, a change away from the rigid belief that all cultures should go into one melting pot, and a change toward appreciation of pluralism and pride in ethnic origins.[3] Without culture human beings cannot develop the characteristics that we normally ascribe to human beings.[4]

Culture comprises all the objects, actions, and feelings that surround and affect an individual. The language of a society is not merely an instrument of communication but a vehicle which carries the traditions, the philosophical essence, and the historical elements of that society.[5]

Taking for example, the situation of the Puerto Ricans, it may well be mentioned that Puerto Rico was ceded as war bounty to the United States in 1898. Puerto Rico is a commonwealth associated with the United States and abiding by its authority. Puerto Ricans have a political dilemma of how self-determined they would be in the future and prefer to keep their own cultural roots throughout their educational career.

In schools within the United States, the Puerto Rican child is expected to accept the conflicting values of the dominant society. In most cases teachers are not aware of these conflicting values which are being enforced by the educational system. These values are definitely not the same as those that that children learn at home. The lack of a curriculum that considers their social and cultural patterns and the lack of school orientation and understanding of another culture contribute to academic retardation and inadequate educational achievement.

A great number of children are not able to follow directions and classroom instruction quickly because of their lack of knowledge of the English language. As a result of these handicaps, the child begins to feel inadequate because neither the school nor the home provides the needed support or reinforcement. The children have the tendency to blame themselves for their failure in school, thus creating strong guilt feelings within them. [6]

The Anglo conformity view of the melting pot concedes acculturation as desirable only if the Anglo-American middle-class cultural pattern is taken as the ideal. By implication, all other cultural forms are considered to be of less value, status and importance.

CONCERNS OF TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTION IN A BILINGUAL SETTING

Family life in Puerto Rico is strong, the family circle wide, and the extended family is maintained through compadrazgo (coparenthood). This institution serves to strengthen bonds of affection and obligations among individuals. Coparents are chosen from special friends, favorite relatives or immediate family members. One individual may become a coparent to another simply by becoming a godparent to his child through church baptism or confirmation and sometimes merely by mutual agreement.

No Puerto Rican is considered properly socialized unless he can behave himself with respeto (literally, respect). The children must show respeto for their parents and in dealing with their elders. Successful interpersonal and family relations depend a great deal on the degree of respeto that individuals show to each other.

The roles of the man and the woman in the marriage institution are clearly defined: the husband is dominant, he has the task of providing the material necessities for his children and making the decisions. The degree of compliance of these responsibilities will reflect on his dignity and machismo (literally, manhood). The task of the wife is to dedicate herself to the home and the children. A mother must protect the children and never abandon them, and there is a clear understanding of roles that accepts the idea of male superiority.

The mother has a dominant role in child-rearing because men consider[7] this to be a woman's job; nevertheless, the key figure in the major decisions concerning the children is the father, who generally gives permission to the children to do things. His position as head of the family puts him in a position which makes it difficult for the children to relate to him. This is essential in order to maintain the respeto which has been mentioned as one of the main values of interpersonal relations. Parents leave education to the school system and its teachers in whom they place their trust.

The following table contains items concerning status and role definitions on which Mexican-American and Anglo-American mothers in Houston, Texas, showed greatest disagreement. This pattern of values are common among Latin Americans and reflect undoubtedly a legacy from the Spanish culture.

FAMILY VALUES	Percent of Agreement	
	MEXICAN	ANGLO
It is not good for a parent to treat his child as an equal because he might lose his respect.	77	42
Whenever there are adults visiting, children should not participate in the conversation.	92	53
A child should not be allowed to rebel against his parents' demands.	88	72
Children should be discouraged from playing with toys not appropiate to their sex.	67	31

CONCERNS OF TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTION IN A BILINGUAL SETTING

Some educators who doubted the wisdom of teaching children in their native language modified their attitude after the publication of the Coleman Report. This finding made the positive self-concept a crucial attribute of the successful student in a culturally disadvantaged school. Bilingual Education is now envisaged by an increasing number of administrators as one aspect of programmatic endeavors to increase the self-respect of these particular children.

One wants "to know in what kind of settings, and for what kinds of pupils, certain kind of resources have the most important impact toward what ends."[9]

Bilingual Education may be a way of complementing the affective need of the child. Man is a transcendent being that has the capacity to transcend what he is, to become something that he is not.[10] By raising questions about learning how to learn to be creative, man is probing the very nature of what it means to be a human being.

In helping students find direction, teachers could profit from the valuable contribution of Abraham Maslow and other humanistic psychologists to learn more about the higher values, goals, and experiences of man. Maslow was interested in what man does when his basic physical needs and his fundamental social needs (belongingness, affection, respect, and self-esteem) have been satisfied.[11]

The human being needs a framework of values, a philosophy of life to live by, in about the same sense that he needs sunlight or love.[12] Maslow has called this aspect of man "the cognitive need to understand". The cognitive, psycho-motor, and affective characteristics of man work together to make him healthier, whole and integrated.

"Wholeness" is the form in which Erikson believes every self should strive to develop. This means that we should strive to accept our pasts, our parents, our diverse and disparate impulses, needs and yearnings.[13] Instead of rejecting or repressing the parts of ourselves that we fear, we should aim to assimilate and integrate all the diverse and disparate strands and streams of our being.

As Lawrence A. Cremin has put it,"Education involves everything from a child's earliest training to what he sees on TV".[14] He warns, "Any conception of education not tied to questions of societal values is dangerous".[15]

Indeed, the special office of education is to widen one's view of life, to deepen insight into relationships, and to counteract the provincialism of customary existence - in short, to engender an integrated outlook. If education is to be regarded as grounded in the search for meaning, the primary goal is to analyze the nature of meaning. The philosophy of man and his ways of knowing run through all studies, unifying curriculum and engendering a general education. Furthermore, the meaning attained fosters growth and generates wholeness in the person.

CONCERNS OF TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTION IN A BILINGUAL SETTING

Martin Buber characterizes the educator as one who awakens the I-You relationship in the pupil.[17] More precisely, he must know him not as a mere sum of qualities, aspirations and inhibitions; he must apprehend him, and affirm him, as a whole.

In our society today, economic institutions are human creations, made to supply physical, intellectual and spiritual needs.18 The economic system educates. Therefore, it is of great importance to the nurture of human beings that the economic organization of society be based upon a comprehensive and not a partial concept of human nature.[19]

There are some straws in the wind that indicate an increased movement toward restructuring Bilingual Teacher Education on the basis of valid research evidence.

The first concerted effort made in New York City to look into the education of Spanish speakers was the Puerto Rican Study, 1953-57. It was stated then that Teacher Education is a unique and highly effective means of increasing effectiveness in working with Puerto Rican children.[20] Many interesting ideas and policies were developed as a result of this study, but few were implemented.

Studies done by Glazer and Moynihan (1970), Milton Gordon (1974) and William Newman(1973) have shown that the extent of assimilation of Puerto Ricans and other minority groups is far from complete.

A good example of the policy of assimilation and the conflicts it has created in a bilingual classroom has been provided by Professor Clara Rodriguez' account of her own experience in the school system:

> My only awareness was that the school was antithetical to my way of being; it did not speak my psychic or verbal language - nor did I speak its language. It was only later that I realized it was I who was to be the antithesis in dialectical relationship between teacher and student. The dynamics that followed between teachers and myself greatly affected my progress and achievement, I sensed throughout my somewhat mediocre public school career that the more I "agreed" with teachers, i.e., the more assimilated I appeared, the greater was my acceptance and "progress". I saw very clearly that those who were the apples of my teachers' eyes, i.e., the "best" students, were generally the least Puerto Rican in language, behavior, and appearance. [21]

Besides the teaching of Puerto Rican history and culture and the use of Spanish as the language of instruction, the pluralistic approach to education involves the use of teaching methods and techniques which are adapted to the cognitive styles of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic students. Much work has been done in this area by Ramirez and Castañeda(1974). One of their important findings was that the differences in cultural backgrounds between Anglo and Mexican-American students were related to their differences in cognitive styles. The cognitive style of Mexican-American students

tended to be "field-sensitive", while the style of Anglo students tended to be "field-independent". A "field-sensitive" student, for example.

> "..likes to work with others to achieve a common goal, likes to assist others, is sensitive to feelings and opinions of others... asks questions about teacher's tastes and personal experiences, seeks guidance and demonstration from teacher...
> is highly motivated when working individually with teacher" (p.139)

On the other hand, a"field independent" student,

> "... prefers to work independently, likes to compete and gain individual recognition, is task oriented... is very formal(in his relationship to the teacher), likes to try new tasks without the teacher's help...is impatient to begin tasks, likes to finish first..." (p. 135)

Based on their findings, Ramirez and Castañeda recommended that teachers employ field-sensitive techniques in the teaching of field-sensitive children. For example, teachers should"display physical and verbal expressions of approval and warmth, encourage cooperation and development of group feeling", and should develop ways to "relate curriculum materials to the interests and experiences of students"(p. 140). Although Ramirez and Castañeda are working primarily with Mexican-American students, their findings and recommendations have direct relevance to the educational needs of Puerto Rican students. [22]

Adherence to the pluralistic approach does not mean the neglect or rejection of the host culture. The very definition of bilingual education and its related concepts attest to this. The following definitions (which are typical of those to be found in the literature) have been developed by the Chicago Board of Education:

> Bilingual education is an approach that brings together three distinct elements: bilingualism, bicultural education, and curriculum. The elements are woven together within the organizational structure of the school system.
>
> Bilingualism, stated most simply, is communicating in two languages. For school purposes, bilingualism is learning to listen, speak, read and write in two languages; learning to raise the level of proficiency of each language from a limited use and knowledge to a competency of being completely at home in both languages; and learning to solve problems encountered in daily living by using each language...
>
> Bicultural education is the teaching of the values, mores, institutions, ethnic background, and history of the native and target cultures so that the student can be comfortable in either, and function as a well-adjusted individual.

Gertrude Moskowitz, along with Norma Furst (from Temple University), have written Report for the North East Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages emphasizing the fact that interaction between teacher and student is a tool for self-observation, a valuable reference for teachers of a second language.[23] Most of their report was based on the

Flanders System and its derivative the Flint System (Foreign Language interaction system).

Flint devised by Moskowitz includes all categories of the Flanders system plus a number of others so appropiate for foreign-language classes. According to the report, Interaction Analysis should aid the teacher in analyzing his teaching in the light of his goals and determine where changes can take place. Using the Flint system, the foreign-language teacher can find out whether he was more indirect or direct when using additional categories such as foreign-language, culture and civilization, and non-verbal behaviors.

In March 1973, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights released a report indicating that the schools of the Southwest are failing to involve Mexican-American children as active participants in the classroom to the same extent as Anglo children.[24] Interactions were coded on the Flanders Interaction Analysis form. Other information was obtained on teacher, classroom, and school characteristics associated with each observed classroom.[25] The disparity in favor of the Anglos is likely to result in lower self-esteem, decreased interest, and poorer academic performance for Mexican American pupils. A direct correlation could be established here between the Mexican American study and a similar Puerto Rican study.

In a study done by Daniel Klepak, director of the State Office of Education Performance Review in New York, two elementary schools with similar Black and Hispanic enrollments were compared.[26] The better school in the study was 98 per cent Black and Hispanic in enrollment. The other school was 88 per cent Black and Hispanic, with similar family income of $7,800. Teachers at the better school had a positive outlook on the school culture, were well prepared and more experienced. Both schools, the report noted, had white principals and heavily white staffs, although the better school had 20 per cent black and hispanic teachers (compared with 6 per cent in the other school). In the better school, 25 per cent of the pupils were reading at or above grade level according to national standards and over half were reading at or above "acceptable competency level for their grade". In the other school, the comparable figures were 10 per cent at or above grade level and only 10 per cent at or above the acceptable competency levels. This study not only shows that schools can teach inner-city children to read, but that the better prepared the teacher is the more successful the student will be.

In 1973 the New York City Board of Education designed a training for teachers who teach bilingual children. The workshop, funded by Title I, has three objectives, namely: 1) To provide methodology of Bilingual Instruction, 2) To provide an understanding of Puerto Rican History and Culture, and 3) To improve language proficiency in English and Spanish.[27]

CONCERNS OF TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTION IN A BILINGUAL SETTING

A study released last fall by the Federal Reserve Board of Philadelphia, for instance, found that when the race of the teacher does not match the race of the pupil, student learning appears to be unaffected. Christopher Jencks from Harvard University argues that income redistribution is the key to promoting educational equality in American society. A recent study by Stanford Center for Research and Teaching Development strongly rebuffs the popular notion that Blacks and Mexican Americans do poorly in school because they have low aspirations and low self-concepts that are buttressed by their teachers.[28]

The Stanford study does assert that "students should be better counseled and told in clear terms how they can improve their scholastic achievements. Thus teacher warmth would be accompanied by realistic standards of effort and achievement". It follows then, that Drs. Dornbusch and Massey agree with their colleague Dr. Castañeda of Stanford School of Education. In their study, Ramirez and Castañeda recommended culture-matching teacher-pupil interaction strategies such as displaying physical and verbal expressions of approval and warmth.[29]

It has been recognized that a major hurdle to the establishment of bilingual education programs is the shortage of well qualified teachers. Further development of instructional materials is needed to assure appropiate implementation of policy. Undoubtedly, the Education Amendments of 1974 will provide assistance in this particular matter. The values of the child will only be taken into account, once all of these concerns have been accomplished.

Bilingual Education does participate with man and his existence, his <u>being</u> and <u>becoming</u>, his hopes and aspirations, his wholeness and his integration. Man can further participate in his transcendental relationships, in dialogue and awareness, in learning and communication. All of these participatory acts integrated by the teacher in a bilingual-bicultural lesson should contribute to the intellectual and affective development of a bilingual child.

The teacher in a bilingual/bicultural classroom accounts for a set of values. It can be strongly concluded that when these students have equal opportunities (provided with appropiate language instruction and cultural pride) they will become pupils with the same range of academic abilities and emotional stability as the other mainstream students.

More attention is being paid to teacher personality, the effects of teachers' classroom behavior, classroom climate, and the implications of these effects on a bilingual-bicultural setting. There is a growing emphasis on determining more realistic approaches to in-service education and the effects of various components of preparation programs on the eventual classroom performance of bilingual teachers.[30]

CONCERNS OF TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTIONS IN A BILINGUAL SETTING

The effectiveness of a bilingual-bicultural program for Puerto Rican students depends on the talents and sense of commitment of the teacher. Teacher respect and empathy for the student are important characteristics not only for growth in linguistic knowledge but for an increasingly positive self-image and identity.[31] Thus, a true understanding of the cultural background of the Puerto Rican student is predicated by an understanding of the struggle for justice. The bilingual teacher who cannot identify with the needs for social justice of the Puerto Rican minorities cannot effectively teach these students.

If students must acquire knowledge of their past, it follows that teachers should also know their students' past. One should not infer by this that only Puerto Rican teachers can educate Puerto Rican students. However, teachers should be bicultural in experience. It has been shown, then, that teachers possessing knowledge of language and culture are indispensable for the Puerto Rican Spanish-speaking pupils. Hence, the need for Teacher Education in the bilingual-bicultural setting.

***

FOOTNOTES

1. See generally, Francesco Cordasco and Eugene Bucchioni, "An Institute for Preparing Teachers of Puerto Rican Students", School and Society, 100: 308-309, Summer, 1972.
2. Nelson Vieira, "Training Teachers for Bilingual/Bicultural Education", Inequality in Education (Harvard Educational Review; Cambridge, Mass. Febuary, 1975).
3. Presented by Peter Kohler, Edittorial Director WCBS-TV New York, August 29, 1974 at 6:55 P.M.
4. Eduardo Seda, "Bilingual Education in a Pluralistic Context", The Rican Vol. 1, Num. IV, May, 1974.
5. See report "teaching Spanish to the Native Spanish Speaker", prepared by a group of teachers of New York City Public Schools headed by Hernan LaFontaine, 1973, for the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
6. ERIC, ED 082 584.
7. Ibid., p. 82.
8. Alfredo Castaneda and Manuel Ramirez III, Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development and Education, (New York; Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1974), p. 47.
9. Gerald Grant, "Evaluation of Coleman Report", Harvard Educational Review, 1972.
10. Dwayne Huebner, "Curriculum as Concern for Man's Temporality", Theory into Practice, October, 1967, p. 174.
11. Barbara Hubbard, "Humanistic Psychologists and the New Questions", The Futurist, II, No. 2 (1968), pp. 32-33.

CONCERNS OF TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTION IN A BILINGUAL SETTING- FOOTNOTES

12. Abraham H. Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being, (New York: Van Nostrand Publishers, 1962) p. 206.
13. Marshal Berman, "Erik Erikson, The Man Who Invented Himself", The New York Times, (Section 7), March 30, 1975, c. 2.
14. Fred M. Hechinger, "Lawrence Cremin: Looking Toward the Heights" Saturday Review World, October 19, 1974, p. 55.
15. Ibid., p. 55.
16. Ibid., p. 5.
17. Martin Buber, I and Thou, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 178.
18. Philip H. Phenix, Man and his Becoming (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1964), p. 67.
19. Ibid., p. 67.
20. Puerto Rican Study 1953-1957, Board of Education of the City of New York.
21. Clara Rodriguez, "The Structure of Failure II: A Case in Point", The Urban Review, Vol. 7, No. 3 (July, 1974), pp. 215-226.
22. As summarized by the report of the "National Conference on the Educational Needs of Puerto Ricans" prepared by PRC Metronamics, Inc. in New York City, 1975.
23. North East Conference on the Teaching of Foriegn Languages, op. cit.,p.13.
24. "Report II: Mexican American Education Study Differences in Teacher Interaction with Mexican Americans and Anglo Students", March 1973, (a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.).
25. Refer to appendix for disparity on praise.
26. As it appeared in the New York Times, "Educational Study Hopeful on Poor", April 4, 1974.
27. "Building Bridges to Better Bilingual Education" - New York City Board of Education, 1973 ERIC Collection ED 081273.
28. For more information on these studies refer to:
    "Which School Resources Help Learning? Efficency and Equity in Philadelphia Public Schools", Febuary, 1975, (Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia);
    "Racism Without Racists: Institutional Racism in Urban Schools", (Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching) reviewed by the New York Times, October 15, 1975;
    Christopher Jenck's study was reviewed in the New York Times, November 26, 1975; the article also appeared in The Harvard Education Review.
29. Op. Cit., p. 82.
30. See appendix.

IV

ON SOCIOLOGY OF URBAN EDUCATION

At the outset, I will address myself to defining words like "sociology", "disadvantaged" and "advantaged", respectively. Then in this context throughout the essay I will support the point of view that inner-city schooling has permitted upward mobility among the disadvantaged, resulting in generations of advantaged pupils.

Within the context explained above: sociology is the scientific study of social institutions (Webster's dictionary); the"disadvantaged" as Havighurst would define it (Miller, passim; and Passow, p. 47-48) is the poor member of the total population; the"advantaged", as I would define the term, are those who achieved higher education levels, and consequently higher income, through upward mobility in this society. Thus, I will maintain that sociology of urban education is not solely concerned with the disadvantaged, but also with the advantaged.

I will base my comments on New York City as a model since its peculiarities are similar to other big cities in the United States. The history of urban education very clearly underlines the fact that the English, Dutch, Irish, Italians, and Jews have become upwardly mobile after adjusting to cultural conflicts within the city. Consequently, they have achieved higher academic and income levels.

Now the question is, will Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other incoming groups be as successful as the previous groups? I will endeavor to highlight some facts which should clarify this question in all of its aspects.

The large cities of the world were formed, and shifted around, as a result of industrialization. New York City is perhaps the most dynamic example of this process. [1] In the early 1800's, New York was a thriving seaport populated by 60,000 people. Almost all of these inhabitants lived south of Grand Street, down near the docks and wharves which were the center of the city's economic vigor. Every year the city's expanding population pushed the city boundaries northward. [2]

Summarizing Kaestle, Tyack, Cremin and Ravitch, colonial New York had schools but they were not the main social institutions where literacy, education, training, or cultural assimilation were attained. Patterns of schooling were irregular (Cremin, Bailyn and others) and supplemented by the family, churches and other institutions.

While most immigrants moved through New York to other parts of the country, enough of their cultural patterns remained behind to alter the character of the city's institutions, and consequently, the population.

The proportion of aliens in the population increased sharply. The statistics jumped from 11% immigrant population in 1825, to 35% in 1845.[3] By 1855, more than half of the city's residents were foreign-born, and more than half of these foreign-born were Irish. Richer familes moved north, and homes that were once comfortable houses were divided into cramped quarters for numerous families. Neighborhoods that were once termed fashionable rapidly deteriorated into sections that came to be known as Irish slums.

The Irish had difficulty gaining acceptance in the New World society that they came into. As Diane Ravitch points out:

> The Irish were different from native Americans: they drank too much, dressed differently, spoke differently, brawled too openly, and stuck together. Furthermore, most of them were Roman Catholics, and antipathy towards Catholicism was an inheritance from English Colonial days.[4]

In Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863 (p.67), Robert Ernst writes that while the Irish and the Blacks shared the same oppressive poverty and discrimination, the Irish were the Blacks' worst enemy.

In Traditions of American Education, Lawrence A. Cremin paints a vivid portrait of New York City's population development and its characteristics:

> The city began an explosive growth of population in the 1790's, which continued until the leveling off of the 1940's and 1950's. The population was 3.4 million in 1900, two years after the consolidation of the five boroughs into Greater New York; that figure rose to 5.6 million in 1920 and leveled off at just under 8 million in 1950, where it remained for the next twenty years. In 1900, 84 percent of the white heads of families in the city were either themselves foreign-born or the children of immigrants; in 1940, that figure was still as high as 64 percent. The origins of the foreign-born population were exceedingly varied, with the principal concentrations having come from Italy, Russia, Ireland, Germany, Poland, Austria, and Great Britain. In addition there was a large black population, primarily but not wholly, native-born, which increased from 61,000 in 1900 to 459,000 in 1940 to 1,668,000 in 1970, and a substantial population of Puerto Rican birth, which increased from 61,000 in 1940 to 430,000 in 1960. Predictably, household education was extraordinarily diverse in New York City, with respect to everything from language and values to relationships with neighbors and kin. Predictably, too, churches and synagogues were also diverse: a fairly reliable 1952 survey indicated that New Yorkers reported themselves as 47.6 percent Catholic, 26.4 percent Jewish, and 22.8 percent Protestant....[5]

Because of its superb harbor, New York City was the leading center of the American nation. The aristocracy included the wealthy descendants of old Dutch and English families. It was not until 1818 that New York experienced any massive foreign immigration. Then came the poor Irish;

and with each wave of immigration---Irishs, Italians, Jews, Blacks, Puerto Ricans----the clash of the old and the new has been replayed in our urban schools.[6]

Berrol (both in Miller and Ravitch) has pointed out that the physical conditions of the schools then were almost as they are now. Poverty was the central condition of the Lower East Side, and housing was considerably worse than now. Both Jewish and Italian populations (the major groups at the turn of the century) were segregated, and their schools were overcrowded. And, as Miller points out(p. 133), general conditions in other large cities were similar to those of New York.

Two great movements of people have dominated the American scene (Miller, p. 103) since the 1940's: a flow of large families to the suburbs of metropolitan areas, and a great migration from the Southern rural areas to the Northern and Western central cities. The combined forces of in-migration, diffussion of whites towards the metropolitan periphery, and the inclination of the white middle class to send their children to private schools have resulted in an increasing proportion of Blacks and minority group children in the public schools.

I consider the term "inner city schools" to include the private parochial schools, the independent private schools as well as the public schools. Taking this view I differ from Miller (p. 103) when he designates inner city schools as those of the poor. According to Miller, 55 percent of the public school children in New York are Black and Puerto Rican (Blacks 35%; Puerto Ricans 23%;, according to N.Y.C. Board of Education Profiles 74-75). Passow(p. 48) refers to the"disadvantaged" as the bottom 15% of the American population in terms of income and education level. (See Appendix)

To quote Miller:

> One feature of the inner city school has to do with a kind of mobility not yet mentioned; unlike in-migration movements into the city and the movement from the central city to the suburbs, very little is known about the large amount of moving that goes on within the city itself.[7]

A lot of moving around within the city is a result of upward social mobility, or of the "white flight." So the schools of the inner city become stratified according to mobility and populations. Miller points out (p. 128) that there is a gap of about two full grades between the schools of central Harlem and the rest of the city by the time children reach sixth grade. (See Appendix)

Following this line of thought, then the children of Harlem as well as El Barrio are the "disadvantaged" and the children of the East Side may be "advantaged." However, the opportunity is somewhat there for all students to climb the economic ladder, whatever background they may come from.

Another important element of the history of urban education is that immigrants at the turn of the century displayed a remarkable commitment to education. The "assimilation" and "Americanization" was ingrained in their systems. They exhorted their members to learn English, ran classes, and formed evening schools. (see Ravitch,p. 244, Berrol, and Miller passim). Learning became not only a means to acquire money and respectability, but an integral part of the desire to preserve a new order of family and communal life (miller, p. 134).

The Jews seemed to have a higher incentive to learn than did the Italians(Ravitch, p. 80). Berrol, at a Teachers College lecture (Spring, 1977) documented this statement. She mentioned that the first graduation of high school Jewish pupils occured in 1916, while the first Italian immigrants graduated in 1930. It has also been mentioned that Jews were able to to do well in commerce, stability, and acquire enough money to send their children to high schools and Normal Schools (City University then). Upward mobility was part of this generation and other immigrant groups followed subsequently (Ravitch, Berrol and others). So, then this ascending "spirality" produced the first teachers of New York City. This is another example to show that these students, who later became teachers, also became "advantaged" and so did their children. Furthermore, these"advantaged" people moved to other areas of the city and became constituents of other sectors of the city.

By midcentury compulsory schooling laws were strengthened, and society demanded educational credentials which kept the unskilled or the uneducated at the bottom of the economic ladder. Diane Ravitch puts it this way :

> The public school was the very symbol of the Melting Pot, the great cauldron of Americanization and assimilation...Early twentieth-century public schools performed no miracles for first and second generation children of European descent, but did facilitate enough mobility to succor the myth of omnipotence. The curriculum was rigid and irrelevant to children's lives, the classes were overcrowed, and the teachers (many of them second or third generation Irish or Germans) had no special affection for the immigrant children or for their parents' strange culture. But the ladder was there from "the gutter to the university", and for those stalwart enough to ascend it, the schools were a boon and a path out of poverty...Difficulty in school was not uncommon for children from poor, rural backgrounds, whether they were white and Southern European in 1910 or black and Southern American in 1960.[8]

As the population movement of Blacks and Puerto Ricans into New York City continued through the 1950's and the 1960's, the integration movement fought with neighborhood schools. A decreasing white population in the city as whites moved to the suburbs, an exodus of white students to private or independent schools, and the middle-class hostility to mixing with the lower class stimulated the decentralization movement.

ON SOCIOLOGY OF URBAN EDUCATION

Samuel Bowles and Herbet Gintis in Schooling in Capitalist America show by means of collected data and tables that inequality in income has remained essentially unchanged since 1910 to the present. They also reveal sharp disparities between the social origins of students and attendance at various types of institutions. Even the more egalitarian state systems exhibit this stratified pattern. Upper class familes tended to send their sons and daughters to highly selective colleges. Poor familes reflected more struggle for educational achievement at higher institutions of learning.

There is a direct correlation between income and education. According to 1970 Census data for New York City, median family income was $10,378 a year for white families; $7,150 a year for Black families; $5,575 a year for Puerto Rican families. While 13 percent of the whites and 4 percent of the Blacks had finished college, only 1 percent of the Puerto Ricans were college graduates. These figures show once more that education is a means of mobility.

This essay may be concluded by asserting once more that the ociology of Urban Education is concerned with all populations of inner city schooling; with those who are"disadvantaged" and those who no longer retain this title. Even when Americanization, assimilation or integration have taken place, the poor inner city child still struggles. Throughout this essay immigration patterns were generally sketched to demonstrate a way of upward mobility. The future will tell how long the social and economic ladder will last and what correlation of educational attainment will be maintained.

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APPENDIX

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES AT SELECTED INCOME LEVELS* NEW YORK, NEW YORK SMSA

	Puerto Rican Birth or Parentage	Puerto Rican Birth	Puerto Rican Parentage
All Families[1]	210,213	189,945	20,268
Less than $1,000	7.9	8.0	7.1
$1,000 - $1,999	4.7	4.8	4.0
$2,000 - $2,999	8.5	8.6	7.9
$3,000 - $3,999	11.0	11.3	8.0
$4,000 - $4,999	10.6	10.9	7.7
	42.7	43.6	34.7
$5,000 - $5,999	10.8	11.0	8.8
$6,000 - $6,999	9.4	9.4	9.4
$7,000 - $7,999	7.6	7.6	7.5
$8,000 - $8,999	6.4	6.3	6.7
$9,000 - $9,999	4.6	4.6	5.3
	38.8	38.9	37.7
$10,000 - $11,999	6.5	7.2	9.9
$12,000 - $14,999	6.0	5.6	10.0
	13.5	12.8	19.9
$15,000 - $24,999	4.4	4.2	6.8
$25,000 and over	0.6	0.5	1.0
	100.0	100.0	100.1

[1]Families with Puerto Rican head of specified nativity and parentage.

*Based on United States Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Reports, PC(2) - 1E, Puerto Ricans in the United States, Table 23, p.115.

Source: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor, Revista del Trabajo, June, 1976, p. 18.

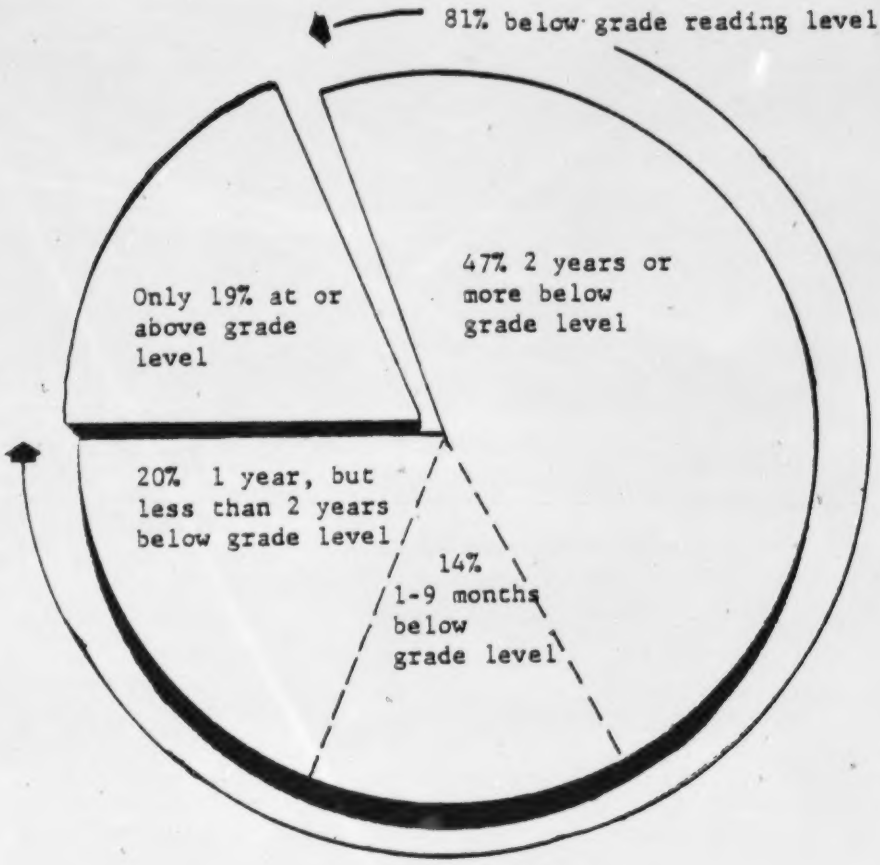
ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF
SCHOOL POPULATION

Level	Blacks	Indians	Orientals	Puerto Ricans	Other Surnamed Spanish Americans	Others	TOTAL
Elem. Schools	208,323	175	11,821	143,218	24,638	177,303	565,478
JHS-Int. Schools	86,662	76	4,543	53,109	8,616	73,736	226,742
Academic HS	89,414	201	5,110	42,286	9,023	115,180	261,214
Vocational HS	15,974	9	558	14,635	758	11,436	43,370
Special Schools	4,938	2	35	2,847	164	2,071	10,057
TOTAL	405,311	463	22,067	256,095	43,199	379,726	1,106,861
Percent of Total	36.6	0.0	2.0	23.2	3.9	34.3	100.0

Less than 1/10 of 1 percent.

Source: Facts and Figures 1974-75, Office of Education Information Services and Public Relations, Board of Education, New York City; Regents of the University of New York, Bilingual Education, June 1972, p. 23.

READING SCORES OF FIFTH GRADE STUDENTS IN 88 NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS HAVE 50% OR MORE PUERTO RICAN ENROLLMENT

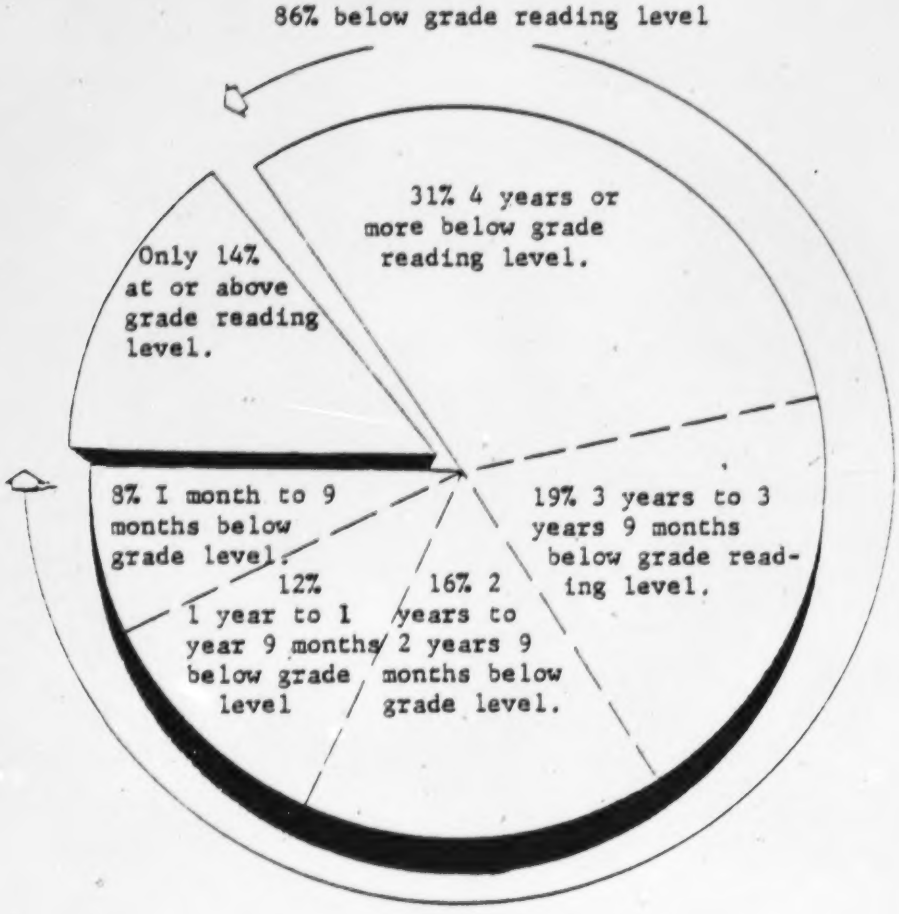

81% below grade reading level
Only 19% at or above grade level
47% 2 years or more below grade level
20% 1 year, but less than 2 years below grade level
14% 1-9 months below grade level

Reading scores of 12,147 fifth grade students tested in 88 New York City schools having 50% or more Puerto Rican enrollment indicate that 81% of these students were below grade level.

SOURCE OF DATA: The Education of the Puerto Rican Child in New York, a report presented to the New York State Commission on the Cost, Quality and Finance of Elementary and Secondary Schools by the Puerto Rican Educators Association, 1971.

ADDITIONAL SOURCE: Regents of the University of New York, Bilingual Education, June 6, 1972, p. 23.

READING SCORES OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS IN 24 NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS HAVING 50% OR MORE PUERTO RICAN ENROLLMENT

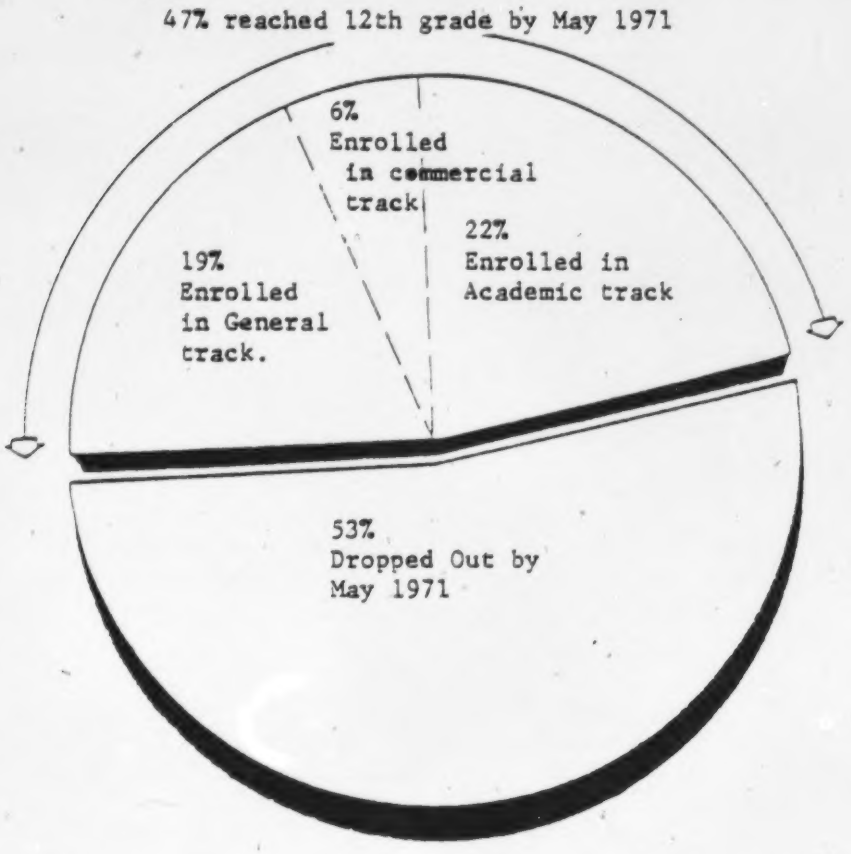

86% below grade reading level
31% 4 years or more below grade reading level.
Only 14% at or above grade reading level.
8% 1 month to 9 months below grade level.
12% 1 year to 1 year 9 months below grade level
16% 2 years to 2 years 9 months below grade level.
19% 3 years to 3 years 9 months below grade reading level.

Reading scores of 9,655 eighth grade students tested in 24 New York City schools having 50% or more Puerto Rican enrollment indicate that 86% of these students were below grade level.

Source of Data: The Education of the Puerto Rican Child in New York, a report presented to the New York State Commission on the Cost, Quality, and Finance of Elementary and Secondary Schools by the Puerto Rican Educators Association. 1971.

ADDITIONAL SOURCE: Regents of the University of New York, Bilingual Education, June 1972, p. 23.

DROPOUT RATE OF TENTH GRADE PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS
(1969-71)



Of the 10,243 Puerto Rican students in 10th grade in New York City's public schools in May 1969, only 4,816 were enrolled in 12th grade two years later. Of those reaching 12th grade, only 2,237 were enrolled in the Academic track - the college preparatory sequence.

Source: The Education of the Puerto Rican Child in New York, a report Presented to the New York State Commission on the Cost, Quality and Finance of Elementary and Secondary Schools by the Puerto Rican Educators Association, 1971.

Additional Source: Regents of the University of New York, Bilingual Education, June 1972, p. 23.

READING GRADE REPORT: NATIONWIDE NORMS, NEW YORK CITY MEAN DISTRICT MEAN: APRIL 1968 METROPOLITAN ACHIEVEMENT READING TEST-FORM C

Grade	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Normal average reading some (nationwide norms)	2.7	3.7	4.7	5.7	6.7	7.7	8.7	9.7
New York City mean reading grade report.	2.7	3.7	4.7	5.7	6.8	7.1	8.1	8.9
District mean reading Grade report:								
Districts								
15 (41.4% Puerto Rican)	2.3	3.1	4.1	5.0	5.7	6.0	6.8	7.4
2 (43.2%)	3.0	3.8	4.6	5.6	6.5	6.5	7.1	8.8
4 (43.9%)	2.5	3.2	4.1	5.0	5.8	6.1	6.7	7.6
1 (47.2%)	2.3	3.0	4.0	4.9	6.2	6.4	7.2	8.4
12 (52.5%)	2.2	3.0	3.9	4.8	5.7	5.6	6.4	7.2
14 (59.0%)	2.2	3.0	3.9	4.5	5.2	5.8	6.8	7.2
7 (61.2%)	2.3	2.8	3.8	4.4	5.1	5.5	6.4	6.9

Source: Board of Education of The City of New York, Bureau of Educational Research.

MEAN GRADE EQUIVALENT SCORES: NATIONWIDE NORMS, NEW YORK CITY MEAN, DISTRICT MEAN: APRIL 1968 METROPOLITAN PARTIAL BATTERY-FORM C INTERMEDIATE AND ADVANCED LEVELS SURVEY OF ARITHMETIC*

Grade	3	8
Normal average reading score (nationwide norms)	3.7	8.7
New York City mean grade equivalent scores	3.6	7.6
District mean grade equivalent scores:		
Districts		
15 (41.4% Puerto Rican)	3.3	6.5
2 (43.2%)	3.7	6.7
4 (43.9%)	3.3	6.1
1 (47.8%)	3.3	6.9
12 (52.5%)	3.1	6.1
14 (50.0%)	3.1	6.3
7 (61.2%)	3.1	6.0

Source: Board of Education of The City of New York Bureau of Educational Research.

*Problems and concepts score.

TOTAL NEW YORK CITY PUERTO RICAN ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ACCORDING TO LEVEL AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE DIFFICULTY - OCTOBER 1970

Location	Total and Percent N.Y.C. enrollment	Number & percent Puerto Rican	Percent Puerto Rican of total enrollment	Non-English-Speaking Puerto Ricans Level of Language Difficulty		
				Category 1[a] Moderate	Category 2[b] Moderate	No Difficulty
Elementary	615,164	154,917	25.2%	43,761	24,620	79,669
	53.9%	59.6%	—	69.1%	78.2%	53.0%
Intermediate and Jr. High School	232,485	52,977	22.8%	9,770	1,503	36,010
	20.4%	20.4%	—	15.4%	11.1%	24.0%
High School	285,228	49,884	17.8%	9,261	3,121	33,260
Total -	25.0%	19.2%	—	14.6%	9.9%	22.1%
				(7,376)	(2,856)	(23,166)
(Academic)				(11.7%)	(9.1%)	(15.4%)
				(1,885)	(265)	(10,100)
(Vocational)				(3.0%)	(.8%)	(6.7%)
Special Schools	8,037	2,101	26.1%			
	0.7%	0.8%	—			
"400" and "700" Schools				123	26	243
				0.2%	0.1%	0.2%
Elementary Deaf				79	167	31
				0.1%	0.5%	*
Junior High School Deaf				7	5	23
				*	*	*
Special Education				299	47	1,009
				0.5%	0.1%	0.7%
School for Continued Education				11	0	31
				*	0.0%	*
Total City	1,140,914	259,879	22.8%	63,311	31,489	150,276

Source of Data: Fred Shaw, Director of Programs Research and Statistics, Board of Education, N.Y.C.

* Less than 0.05%

[a]Category 1 - Pupils who speak English hesitantly at times, or whose regional accents indicate the need for remedial work in English and/or Speech.

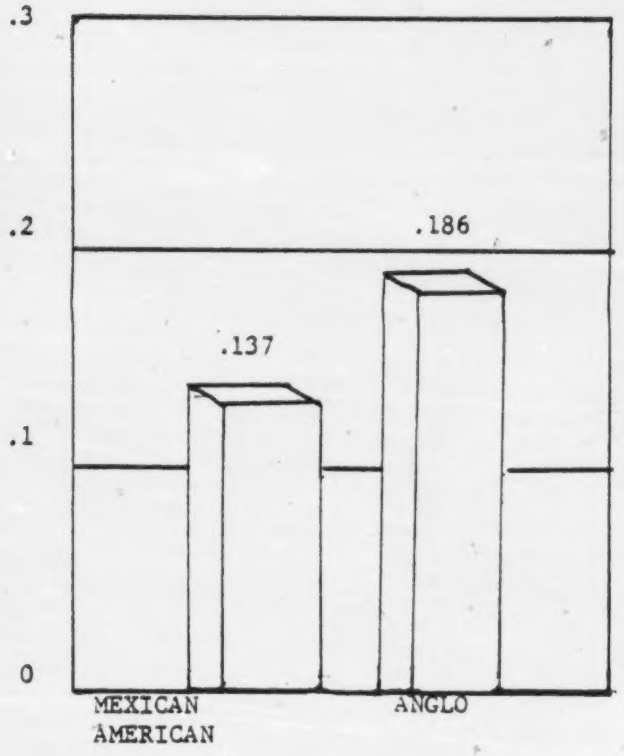
[b]Category 2- Pupils who speak little or no English, or whose regional or foreign accents make it impossible for them readily to be understood.

NEW YORK PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS RATED AS TO ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH:
BY LANGUAGE GROUP - OCTOBER 30, 1970

	Moderate Eng. Lang. Dif.		Severe Eng. Lang. Dif.		No English Lang. Dif.		Total Register	
Language Group	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
English-Speaking	23,460	2.9%	1,930	0.2%	795,631	96.9%	821,021	100.0%
Puerto Rican	63,311	25.8	31,489	12.9	150,282	61.3	245,082	100.0
Other Spanish-Speaking	12,959	34.2	9,710	25.6	15,209	40.2	37,878	100.0
Chinese	3,358	27.8	1,672	13.9	7,026	58.3	12,056	100.0
Italian	2,425	26.5	1,589	17.4	5,139	56.1	9,153	100.0
Greek	1,320	29.7	724	16.2	2,406	54.1	4,450	100.0
French	1,642	39.8	1,012	24.5	1,472	35.7	4,126	100.0
Other Language	2,543	34.8	1,671	22.9	3,095	42.3	7,309	100.0
TOTAL	11,018	9.7	49,797	4.4	980,260	85.9	1,141,075	100.0

Source of Data: Fred Shaw, Director of Programs Research and Statistics, Board of Education, New York City.

AVERAGE AMOUNT OF PRAISE OR ENCOURAGEMENT GIVEN BY TEACHERS TO INDIVIDUAL MEXICAN AMERICAN AND ANGLO STUDENTS



Source: TEACHER AND STUDENT, Report 5: Mexican American Education Study, March, 1973. (A Report on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.)

VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF PREPARATION PROGRAMS

1. Special Circular No. 32, 1974-75. Board of Education of the City of New York, November 8, 1974.

2. "The First Seminar on Puerto Rican History and Culture" Department of Education - Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, San Juan, Puerto Rico, December 3, 1974.

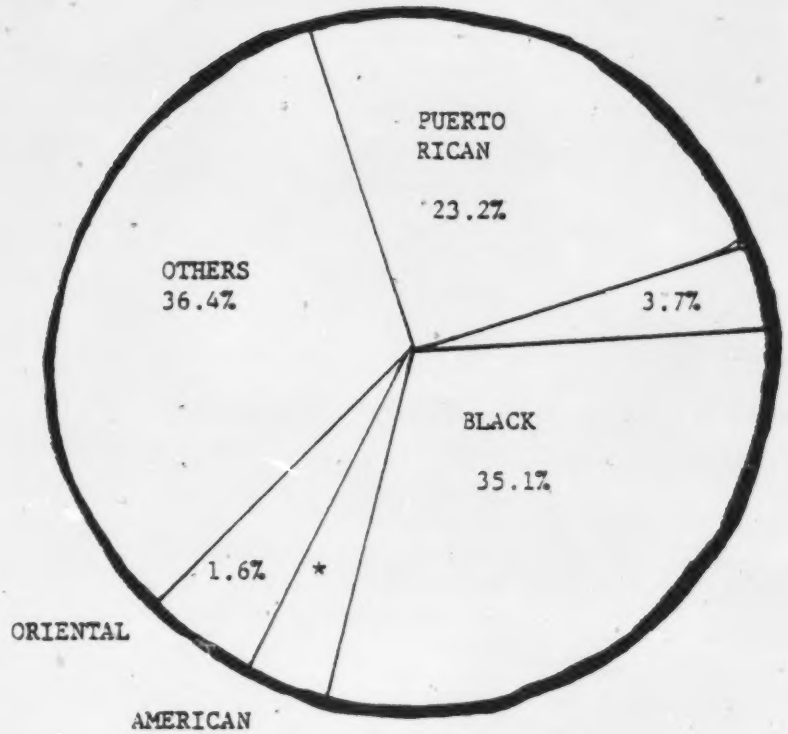
3. "Report on the Puerto Rican Studies Program", Summer 1973. Unpublished Report prepared by Jacqueline Córdova, Hartford, Connecticut, May 1973.

4. "Institute for Preparing Teachers of Puerto Rican Students", School and Society, 100:308-309, Summer 1972.

5. "Building Bridges to Better Bilingual Education", Board of Education of New York City, ERIC Collection (ED 081273) 1973, pp. 15.

6. "Puerto Rican History and Culture", Book I: Lesson Plans; Book II: Supportive Readings. Puerto Rican Forum, Inc. New York, 1971.

CITY-WIDE ETHNIC CENSUS
N.Y.C. PUBLIC SCHOOLS, OCT. 29, 1971



*(Less than 1/10 of 1%)

Source: adapted from NYC Board of Education Profiles 1974-75; and other Board of Education Sources.

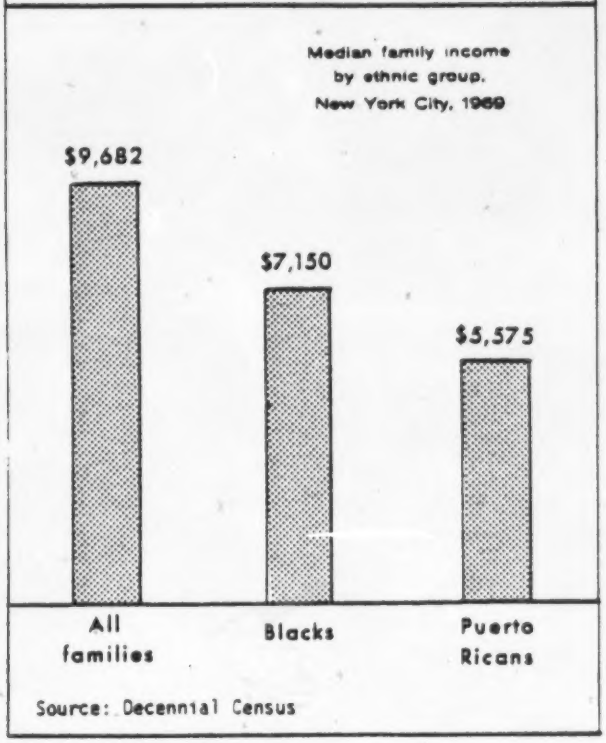
SCHOOL ENROLLMENT OF PUERTO RICANS
IN NEW YORK CITY, 1970
(BY BIRTHPLACE)

	Puerto Ricans in NYC	Born in Puerto Rico	Born on U.S. Mainland
Total enrolled, age 3-34	251,069	67,274	183,795
Nursery school	2,736	284	2,452
Kindergarten	15,312	2,484	12,828
Elementary (Grades 1-8)	168,887	39,980	128,907
High School (Grades 9-12)	55,973	20,564	35,409
College	8,161	3,962	4,199
Percent enrolled, age 3-34	46.4	25.2	67.3
3 and 4 yrs. old	11.1	11.7	11.0
5 and 6 yrs. old	71.9	66.4	73.1
7 and 13 yrs old	94.6	92.5	95.2
14 to 17 yrs. old			
Male:	86.0	78.9	90.3
Female:	83.4	74.3	89.5
18 to 24 yrs. old			
Male:	19.1	12.8	32.4
Female:	13.4	9.0	24.7
25 to 34 yrs. old	2.1	1.6	5.4
Males, 16 to 21 yrs. old	43,222	22,956	20,266
Not enrolled in school	21,989	14,426	7,563
Unemployed or not in labor force	10,760	6,630	4,130

SOURCE: 1970 U.S. Census. Puerto Ricans in the United States. PC (2) -1E, June 1973. Table 13, p. 102.

Chart 30

Puerto Rican family income is about $4,000 or 40 percent less than the Citywide average



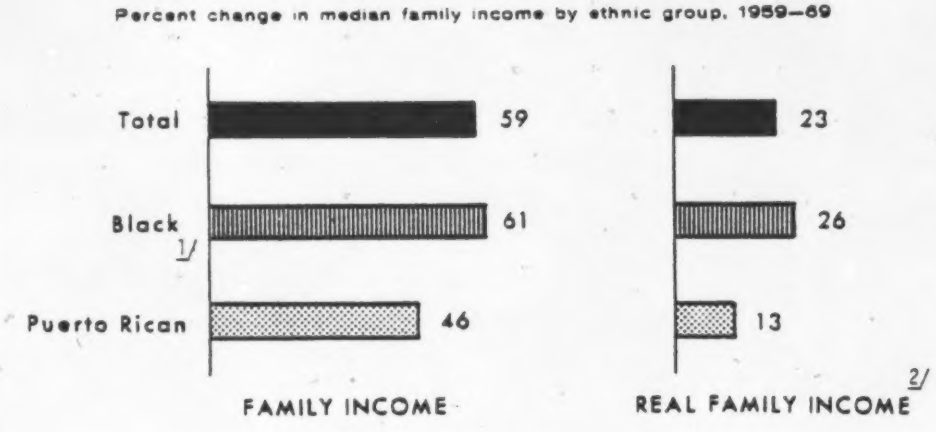
Source: Decennial Census

1/ Decennial Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Regional Report 1975.

Chart 32

While New York City Puerto Rican family income increased over the past decade, the gap between Puerto Ricans and other families grew wider



1/ 1959 data include Blacks and other races. In 1960, Blacks comprised 95.3 percent of the category Blacks and other races.
2/ Family income adjusted for consumer prices.

Source: Decennial Census

Source: 1975 Census Bureau. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Regional Report 1975.

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Jacqueline Córdova-Ferrer is a Visiting Lecturer at the State University of New York, and has also lectured at City University of New York. She has been an Assistant Professor of Education at Long Island University, where she is now a consultant. She has coordinated the Education Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Migration Division.

Presently, Ms. Córdova is a consultant to the Urban and Minority Institute of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, where she is completing her doctoral dissertation in Urban Education on the historical and educational perspectives of Puerto Ricans in New York City.

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